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Justaque cupidine lucri ardentibus ['Burning with a Just Desire for Gain']: A Barbadian Poet Celebrates the Peace of Utrecht

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Commercium ad Mare Australe ("The South-Sea Trade"), by John Alleyn, is an early eighteenth-century Latin poem in celebration of the Peace of Utrecht which offers several points of interest to the modern reader. On one level, it is a fairly typical example of a particular kind of formal commemorative verse which was popular in the period and for a long time afterwards among Britain's educated elite. It demonstrates how such poems depended on the widespread acceptance of a normative ideal of a classical education in which Latin texts by ancient writers shared a bilingual cultural space with both Latin works by modern writers and literature in the vernacular. At the same time, the poem is unusual in that it is written by someone from one of Britain's Caribbean colonies, and both the author and the content of his poem show how modern Latin verse was part of a literary system which spanned the Atlantic. The poem stresses the significance of colonization and imperial conflict to Britain and appears to assert a strong sense of colonial identity.

1 The Peace and Patriotic Poetry

The conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 brought to an end a long period of war between the Great Britain of Queen Anne and Louis XIV's France, and their respective allies, which had seen armed conflict in the Caribbean and North American colonies as well as in much of Europe. While the peace was to a significant extent the result of exhaustion on all sides, it was generally felt that Britain was the main gainer in terms of increased prestige and influence, as well as territorial acquisitions such as Gibraltar, Newfoundland, and the French part of the Caribbean island of St. Kitts. As such, it led to national rejoicing, and the University of Oxford joined in with a celebration on 10 July 1713 which included the recitation of speeches and poems (almost all of them in Latin) by members of the university. At both Oxford and Cambridge from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century, ceremonies marking university or national festivity

or grief (sometimes combined, as with the death of one sovereign and the accession of another) were generally followed by the publication of handsomely produced commemorative volumes which showcased the universities' literary talents by printing the poems and speeches which had been composed for the occasion. Outside of the universities, poems on similar topics often appeared in English rather than Latin, and both the Latin and English examples were frequently categorized as "state poems". They were not to everybody's taste: the tendency for panegyric to become excessive easily lent itself to mockery, and the collections published in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century under titles like *Poems on Affairs of State* were satirical in nature, and, as such, ridiculed the genre as a whole as well as their own particular targets.¹ When in early 1748 Horace Walpole sent his friend Thomas Gray the *Collection of Poems, By Several Hands*, which had just been published by Robert Dodsley, Gray complained that the very first poem was "not only a state-poem (my ancient aversion), but a state-poem on the peace of Utrecht".² This was Thomas Tickell's "On the Prospect of Peace," first published in 1712 as negotiations were ongoing, which with entire seriousness praised British successes during the wars, military heroes such as the Duke of Marlborough, and the British representatives at the peace congress, the Bishop of Bristol and the Earl of Stratford. Gray's opinion was far from universal, however. Tickell's poem was something of a bestseller when it originally appeared, and its inclusion in Dodsley's *Collection* seems to have done little harm to what became one of the most successful anthologies of the century. A number of other works originally composed as state poems achieved a greater or lesser degree of popularity and longevity, the best known probably being Alexander Pope's *Windsor-Forest*, which was also published in celebration of the Peace of Utrecht.³ Where the university collections of state poems in Latin (and often in other learned languages) were concerned, expensively bound presentation copies would be sent to members of the royal family, the court, and leading politicians, as a form of what would now be called a public-relations exercise. There is evidence, however, that their

1 Brian Hammond, "Verse Satire," in *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, ed. Christine Gerrard (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 369–385, at 371.

2 Gray to Walpole (undated, but January or February 1748), in *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, 3 vols., eds. Paget Toynbee, Leonard Whibley and H. W. Starr (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 1, 295.

3 [Robert Dodsley, ed.] *A Collection of Poems, in six volumes, by several hands*, enlarged edition (London: J. Dodsley, 1770), 1, 3–21; E. Andra and Aubrey Williams, ed., *Alexander Pope: Pastoral Poetry and An Essay on Criticism* (London: Methuen, 1961), 123–194; Christine Gerrard, "Poetry, Politics, and the Rise of Party," in Christine Gerrard, ed., *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 7–22, at 11.

contents attracted wider attention, and these university volumes were used as source material by compilers of anthologies of Neo-Latin verse which enjoyed a more general readership.⁴

2 Latin and University Commemorations

A volume duly appeared from Oxford's Clarendon Press after the Utrecht celebration, which was described on its title-page as being in honor of "Anna Pacifica", Queen Anne the Peacemaker, and which both conformed to this tradition and differed from it in some respects.⁵ It was somewhat shorter than the Cambridge volume produced for the same occasion.⁶ It included a single poem in English, by Joseph Trapp, the Professor of Poetry, which was not in itself that unusual, though English poems in these collections were outnumbered about ten to one by those in Latin.⁷ All the other poems in this volume, however, were in Latin, fourteen in hexameters and four in lyric metres, whereas it was often the case that the university anthologies included poems in Greek and sometimes more unusual languages which might have been unintelligible to most of those who looked through their pages, but which were nevertheless guaranteed to impress. The 1702 Oxford volume which commemorated the death of William III and the accession of Anne, for example, consisted mostly of poems in Latin (and none in English), but also included several in Greek, as well as examples in Hebrew, Persian, Arabic, Anglo-Saxon, and Cornish.⁸ Its 1713 successor offered readers a reminder of the world beyond Europe in a different manner, however, by including not one but two poems by members of

⁴ David Money, "Free Flattery or Servile Tribute? Oxford and Cambridge Commemorative Poetry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in James Raven, ed., *Free Print and Non-Commercial Publishing since 1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 48–66. On British Latin verse in the period more generally, see Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry, 1500–1925* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1940), especially Chapter VIII, pp. 226–296, and D.K. Money, *The English Horace: Anthony Alsop and the Tradition of British Latin Verse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1998).

⁵ *Academiae Oxoniensis Comitula Philologica in Theatro Sheldoniano Decimo Die Julii A. D. 1713. Celebrata. In Honorem Serenissimae Reginae Annae Pacificae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1713). The volume is unpaginated. A digitized version is available online in the ECCO (Eighteenth Century Collections Online) database.

⁶ Money, *English Horace*, 236–238.

⁷ Money, *English Horace*, 234.

⁸ *Pietas Universitatis Oxoniensis in Obitum Augustissimi Regis Gulielmi III. et Gratulatio in exoptatissimam Serenissimae Annae Reginae inauguratorem* (Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1702).

the university from Barbados, a Caribbean colony which was both strategically important and a major contributor to Britain's economic prosperity through its twin roles as an entrepôt in the transatlantic slave trade and as an exporter of sugar produced by the labor of enslaved Africans and their descendants. One of these poems, by John Maynard (b. 1692), a fellow commoner of St John's College, offers a justification of the slave trade, and I have discussed this elsewhere.⁹ The other, titled *Commercium ad Mare Australe* ("The South Sea Trade"), is by John Alleyn or Alleyne (1695–1730) of Magdalen College. Placed at the intersection of Neo-Latin literature and Caribbean literature, two fields which are not normally thought of together, Alleyn's poem sheds light on both in a number of important ways.

3 Alleyn and Latin Verse Composition as Cultural Capital

Alleyn himself is a reminder that literary culture in the long eighteenth century is very largely an elite culture. In the 1713 volume, authors' names are not given with their poems, but are instead listed in the order of proceedings for the public recitations in the Sheldonian Theatre printed at the beginning. Here Alleyn is described as "Reynoldi Alleyn de Barbadoes Arn[igeri] fill[ius]", that is, "son of Reynold Alleyn of Barbados, gentleman", which identifies him as a member of a family prominent among the island's landed elite, which dominated the ownership of sugar plantations. His father was Reynold Alleyne (1672–1722) of Four Hills, Barbados, a Member of the Barbados House of Assembly (the lower house of the colonial legislature), and a descendant of a Reynold Alleyne (or Allen) who was living in Barbados by 1630 (only a few years after the English settlement of the island), when he was one of the members of Governor Hawley's Council, and who died on the island in 1651. John Alleyn(e), the writer of the poem under discussion, was born in Barbados on 23 December 1695, and matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, on 14 January 1711/12, though he does not appear to have gone on to take a degree. He had been admitted to the Middle Temple in 1710. He married the daughter of another Barbadian planter in London in 1718, and later returned to the island, where it is said that "although frequently pressed to take part in public affairs he declined to do so". He died at Bath in England in 1730. His son Sir John Gay Alleyne (1724–1801)

⁹ Gilmore, John T., "Sub herili venditur Hasta: An early eighteenth-century justification of the Slave Trade by a colonial poet", in Yasmin Haskell and Juanita Feros Rys, ed., *Latinity and Alchemy in the Early Modern Period*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Volume 360 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2010), 221–239.

was for many years Speaker of the Barbados House of Assembly and one of the most prominent figures in Barbados, while one of his daughters, Rebecca Alleyne (1725–1764), married an English peer.¹⁰ At Oxford, his heritage gave John Alleyne a claim to status recognized by the fact that the order of proceedings also identified him as “Superioris] Ord[ini]s] Commens[alis]”, that is, a fellow-commoner of his college. Fellow-commoners were so called because they enjoyed the privilege of dining – eating their commons – at the high table with the college fellows. While they paid for this, gentlemanly or noble rank was expected. Fellow commoners were also not expected to exert themselves unduly when it came to academic tasks, although learning was considered acceptable if it was worn lightly.¹¹ Contributions by those of rank figured prominently in the Latin verse in the commemorative volumes published by the universities, to the extent that it appears certain that the social status of their authors was a factor in their inclusion. In at least some cases, these efforts were polished up by the tutors of the young gentlemen who got the credit for them, and we know of a few examples which appear to have been ghost-written in their entirety.¹² Nevertheless, the fact that the names of so many sons of

¹⁰ While the family name is usually spelt Alleyne, I continue to refer to the writer as Alleyne, since this is what he is called in both publications where his poem appears. Genealogical information about the Alleynes may be found in a series of articles by Louise R. Allen (sic) originally published in the *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* and collected in James C. Brantow, comp., *Genealogies of Barbados Families, from Caribbana and the Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1983). See also: Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses ... 1500–1714* (Oxford, 1891), I, 17; John [T.] Gilmore, Sir John Gay, first baronet (1724–1801), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, 2004; H.A.C. Sturges, comp., *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple: From the Fifteenth Century to the year 1944* (3 vols., London: Published for the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple by Butterworth, 1949), I, 266. Louise Allen says he “received honorary degree of M.A.” (Brantow, 21), but this is not mentioned by Foster.

¹¹ On fellow commoners in the period, see Christopher Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1872), 97–100, 646–7. On “commensalis”, see the English to Latin section of Thomas Morell, ed., *Robert Ainsworth’s Dictionary, English and Latin*, new ed. (London: Charles Rivington and William Woodfall, 1773; unpaginated), where the Latin equivalent of “A fellow commoner” is given as “Socius convivor” or “commensalis”. “Commensalis” is not a classical word, and Morell gives it in the Latin to English part only in a supplementary list headed “Index Vocum, Ab his, qui Latine scribere velint, vitandorum” (“Index of words to be avoided by those who may wish to write Latin”), where it is defined as “A boarder, a fellow-commoner”.

¹² Bradner, *Miscæ Anglicanæ*, 214–5; Money, *English Horace*, 232–3. For a particularly interesting example of a young nobleman who was given a prominent position in two Oxford anthologies, but whose poems, in English as well as Latin, would appear to have benefited

gentlemen and noblemen appeared in these anthologies, along with those of heads of colleges, university officials, and humbler scholars, served to confirm that Latin verse was a form of cultural capital, and that its production and consumption were activities befitting an educated gentleman. Some such gentlemen certainly felt it was worth their while to put in enough effort to be able to write their own Latin verses, and even after the end of their formal education retained enough of an interest to provide a readership for the very considerable quantities of modern Latin poetry which were printed and published, or circulated in manuscript in Britain in the long eighteenth century.

There seems to be no information available about Alleyne’s earlier education, and we do not know where he originally learnt Latin or was taught the art of Latin verse composition. It might have been in Barbados, where there is evidence of Latin being taught by the later seventeenth century, or he might have been sent to school in Britain at an early age, like many sons of wealthy Caribbean families. Nor can we be certain as to the extent to which he might have been helped in the composition of what appears to be his one surviving Latin poem, though the final version we have is clearly shaped by someone who had spent considerable time practising a skill which was, after all, taught as an essential part of western European educational systems. There is nothing that unusual about Alleyne’s writing in Latin: the earliest published poet identifiably born in a British Caribbean colony appears to be Christopher Codrington (1668–1710), who wrote poetry in Latin as well as in English, while there are at least a dozen or so other eighteenth-century Caribbean writers of Latin verse.¹³ That the Caribbean was part of a literary culture which spanned the Atlantic and was to a significant extent bilingual in English and Latin is demonstrated by a work like John Beveridge’s *Epistolæ Familiæ*, which published Latin verse epistles between Beveridge and correspondents in Scotland, the North American colonies, and the Bahamas.¹⁴ A number of poems in English

from “active collaboration by his seniors, to say the least”, see C.S.L. Davies, “John Wilmont, Earl of Rochester: His Childhood and Experience at Oxford”, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 8, no. 2 (Summer 2008), 171–189.

¹³ John [T.] Gilmore, “The British Empire and the Neo-Latin Tradition: The Case of Francis Williams”, in Barbara Goff, ed., *Classics and Colonialism* (London: Duckworth, 2005), 92–106. Codrington is a figure well known to historians of the Caribbean; see, e.g., Vincent T. Harlow, *Christopher Codrington, 1668–1710* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928). He was the author of a short Latin poem in praise of William III, published in *Academice Oxoniensis Gratulatio Pro Exoptato Serenissimi Regis Gulielmi [sic] ex Hibernia Reditu* (Oxford, 1690; unpaginated). I hope to discuss Codrington as a literary figure in more detail in another publication.

¹⁴ John Beveridge, *Epistolæ Familiæ et alia quædam Miscellanæ Familiar Epistolæ and other Miscellaneous Pieces* (Philadelphia: William Bradford, for the Author, 1765). For a

originally written or printed and published in the Caribbean were later published in the British Isles, and a few went into more than one edition, such as James Grainger's *The Sugar-Cane* (1764) and John Singleton's *General Description of the West-Indian Islands* (1767).¹⁵ Alleyry's poem, on the other hand, appears to be the only example of a Latin poem by a British Caribbean author to have been reprinted in the eighteenth century. After its appearance in the 1713 Oxford collection, it was included in an anthology published four years later under the title *Musarum Anglicanarum Analecta sive Poëmatum quorundam melioris notae, seu hactenus Ineditorum, seu sparsim Editorum, Vol. III*. This claimed, in other words, to be a continuation of the *Musarum Anglicanarum Analecta* (a title which in effect meant "Selected Latin poems by English writers"), an anthology originally published in one volume in 1692 and expanded with considerable additional material into two volumes for its second edition in 1699, with four further editions in the course of the eighteenth century. The so-called "third volume" was printed at Oxford's Clarendon Press, and with the official approval of the university's vice-chancellor, but this was at the expense of a commercial bookseller, Antony Peisley, who presumably hoped it would be a remunerative venture. As well as Alleyry's poem, it included several more from the 1713 volume, as well as others from different sources. While the "third volume" can be found bound up to make sets with volumes of the 1714 or 1721 editions of the original anthology, it was never reprinted and the contents were not absorbed into the later editions. While there would seem to be some justice in Bradner's assessment that the "third volume" was an "unauthorized continuation", whose contents "did not share in the popularity enjoyed by the poems in the authorized volumes", Peisley, or whoever made the selection on his behalf, must have assumed that Alleyry's poem, like the others chosen, would have had some appeal for the not inconsiderable market for modern Latin verse.¹⁶

¹⁵ detailed study of Beveridge's collection, see Sara Hale, "The 'epistolary ode' in British neo-Latin poetry, 1680–1765," PhD thesis, Department of Classics, King's College, London, 2018, chapter 4.

¹⁶ See John [?], *The Poetics of Empire: A Study of James Grainger's The Sugar-Cane* (London: Athlone Press, 2000); and Gilmore, "'Too oft allur'd by Ethiopic charms?' Sex, Slaves and Society in John Singleton's A General Description of the West-Indian Islands (1767)," in *Arctik: A Review of International English Literature*, Vol. 38, no. 1 (January 2007), 75–94.

¹⁷ *Musarum Anglicanarum Analecta: sive Poëmatum quorundam melioris notae, seu hactenus Ineditorum, seu sparsim Editorum, Vol. III* (Oxon. E Typographo Clarendoniano, Impensis Ant. Peisley Bibliopol. MDCCXVII.), 28–31; Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, 212–225, 363, 364.

4 The Poem and the Wider Context of Neo-Latin Literature

What of Alleyry's poem itself? In form, it is entirely conventional, consisting of just under a hundred lines of Latin hexameters, a respectable length for the kind of collection in which it originally appeared. While the hexameter was regarded as suitable for elevated topics because of its use by Virgil, the great exemplar of classical Latin poetry, its versatility was demonstrated by the satires of Horace and Juvenal, or by its adoption for mock heroic poems such as the *De ludo scaccorum* ("On the game of chess") of the Italian Renaissance writer Marco Girolamo Vida (1485–1566), or the *Muscipula* ("The Mousetrap", first published 1709) of Alleyry's contemporary Edward Holdsworth (1684–1746), both of which were popular with eighteenth-century British readers. On the other hand, the hexameter was, along with the pentameter with which it might be combined to form elegiac couplets, the most basic metre learnt by schoolboys who aspired or were obliged to write Latin verses. It was regarded as less difficult than the lyric metres particularly associated with the *Odes* of Horace, and we may note that in the 1713 Oxford collection in which Alleyry's poem originally appeared, the Latin poems in hexameters outnumber those in lyric metres by more than three to one. Not everybody could be a Virgil, but with enough practice a significant proportion of schoolboys and young men could learn to produce hexameters and elegiac couplets which were at least adequate.

Alleyry's versification is technically competent. His choice of vocabulary is almost entirely classical, with the exception of proper names, such as "Hartelius" (l. 6) for Robert Harley (1661–1724), Earl of Oxford, and Lord Treasurer from 1711, the leading figure in the government, who is praised as the man responsible for a peace so favourable to Britain, and "aestus Lemari" (ll. 21–2) for the passage between Tierra del Fuego and the Isla de los Estados, leading to Cape Horn, so called because it was discovered by a Dutch expedition commanded by Jacob Lemaire in 1616.¹⁷ Alleyry treats Chile in Latin as if it were a Greek noun, which allows him in the two places where it appears (ll. 22, 87) to use a Latin genitive which happens to be identical with the English one (Chiles = Chile's). Tricks such as this probably impressed his original audience. He makes use of tags, words and phrases borrowed from classical writers, in a manner habitual among eighteenth-century writers of Latin verse. It is not

¹⁷ "Aestus" is not, strictly speaking, the Lemaire Strait itself, which would be "fretum", but refers to the sea within it. With its suggestion of turbulence, "aestus" is an appropriate term for a notoriously rough and difficult passage: compare Horace, *Odes* II, vii, 15–6, "te ... / unda fretis nult aestuosus" ("the wave carried you on stormy waters").

always clear whether these are meant to suggest deliberate echoes of their sources, or are simply being used because they are metrically convenient or just vocabulary which has been absorbed by frequent use or derived from a popular handbook for Latin versifiers like the *Gradus ad Parnassum*.¹⁸ In the opening lines for example, when we find "composita" for "composita," we may note that this has Virgilian precedent, and indeed, that Virgil, like Alleyn, associates the word with "pax": in Alleyn, after the noise and tumult of war, Europe has fallen silent, "composita Pace" ("with peace" – or perhaps "the Peace", as the emphasizing italics in the original might suggest – "having been settled"), while in Virgil (*Aeneid*, I, 249), Antenor, having founded Patavium, "nunc placida compositus pace quiescit" ("now rests, settled in calm peace").

A number of similar examples suggest that such tags have simply become the common currency of the Neo-Latin poet, to be employed as and when they come in handy. A possible exception is the part of the description of the barren coast, where Alleyn says that nothing grows there, and his "non laeta Seges" ("no joyful harvest", I, 28) would almost certainly have reminded his listeners and later readers of the "laetas segetes" in the opening line of the *Georgics*, and his addition of "Non ipsum infelix lolium" ("not the wretched lolium itself") a couple of lines later adds another Virgilian echo. "Lolium" was a kind of weed, for which various translations were offered by modern lexicographers, and while it was a word found in other writers, the phrase "infelix lolium" occurs in a line found in *Eclogues*, V, 37, and *Georgics*, I, 154.¹⁹ The lolium is "infelix" not because it is itself unhappy, but because, as a weed which damages food-crops, it is capable of causing unhappiness to others – Virgil applies the same adjective to the Trojan Horse (*Aeneid*, II, 244–5). Alleyn's use of "sterilis" in his next line emphasises the echo of Virgil, who uses the word in the same line about the lolium, but Alleyn's "sterilis Tellus" is a stock phrase which can be found in, e.g., Lucan's *Pharsalia* (IX, 696). Perhaps more relevant is the line in Ovid's description of Scythia, "triste solum, sterilis, sine fruge, sine arbore telus" (*Metamorphoses*, VIII, 789; "a wretched soil, a barren land without fruits or trees"). The accumulation of these particular echoes within the space of a few lines suggests that, here at least, Alleyn is deliberately drawing attention to them as a means of demonstrating his own cleverness by showing off his

¹⁸ See the entry by David Butterfield on "*Gradus ad Parnassum* and other verse composition manuals", in Philip Ford, Jan Bloemendal and Charles Fantazzi, ed., *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 981–3.

¹⁹ Morrell's edition of Ainsworth's *Dictionary* defines lolium as "a weed growing among corn, called rye, darnel, cockle, or tarax", and cites a passage in Plautus. The English edition of the *Gradus ad Parnassum*, first published by the Company of Stationers in 1686 and many times reprinted, only cites the line from the *Eclogues*.

ability to use his knowledge of Virgil and other classical authors by adapting them to his own ends.

There is nothing exceptional in Alleyn's treatment of Latin verse as a medium, nor does the level of skill displayed appear to be beyond that which could have been obtained by him or any other seventeen-year-old who had been educated in a system which regarded accomplishment in Latin verse composition as both desirable in itself and an important indicator of general intellectual ability. Even if we allow for the possibility that a friend or tutor helped him to polish a few of the finer details, this suggests that the poem as we have it is very likely to be largely or entirely his own composition. This, in turn, makes its content interesting, as a glimpse into the mindset of a member of a colonial elite in the expanding British Empire of the early eighteenth century. Alleyn creates an epyllion which mythologises the naval exploits and commercial pursuits in the Americas of the "Britones, iustaque cupidine lucri / Ardentes" (II, 33–4; "the British, burning with a just desire for gain"). While England might consider herself happy enough now that peace has been restored, and might wish simply to enjoy "secura Quies" (I, 4; "safe repose"), Harley, that "Vir providus" (I, 6; "far-seeing man"), has grander ideas: "nova Sceptra remotis / Invenit in terris, alimque ANNAE indicat Orbem" (II, 10–11; "he finds new sceptres in far off lands, and shows another world to Anna"). This refers to the "Commercium ad Mare Australe", the South Sea Trade of the title, though, as we shall see, Alleyn's treatment of this is far from realistic. We then get a description of anthropomorphized ships which may remind some readers of the Trojan ships in Virgil (*Aeneid* IX, 77–122) which were transformed into sea-nymphs: Virgil's ships were "defuncae finem" (IX, 98; "had accomplished their task"), while Alleyn's are "defuncae bello / Ornatae" (II, 14–5; "adorned with a worthy duty"), they set out to sea once more, "exaucturae Optibus, quos defendere, Britannos" (I, 16; "to increase exceedingly in wealth the Britons they have defended"). The Latin "opes" suggests both "wealth" and "power", and its use here indicates Alleyn's belief that British power and influence depends on the acquisition of wealth from overseas.

The ships cross the Atlantic to Brazil, and then head to the River Plate, or the land of the Patagonians, who are described, following a common European belief of the time, as "Prole Gigantea notos" (I, 21; "famous for their gigantic race"), or rounds the southern tip of South America to head for Chile. The exact location of the barren landscape which they then encounter remains somewhat vague. A striking feature of Alleyn's description of it is the way he compares its appearance to that of a "praedives Avarus" ("a most wealthy miser"), who "incolta squallet facie" ("is filthy and unkempt"; II, 24–5). Appearances are

deceptive, however, and "turpis Egestas / Mendacii ore seder" (ll. 26–7; "shameful want sits on his lying face"). While the country may appear to have nothing to offer, "Tamen inthus abundat / Vis larga Argenti, et rudis Auri pondera crescunt" (ll. 31–2; "Within, however, abounds a mighty store of silver, and pounds of raw gold grow").

The British are apparently already aware of this fact, for this is the point at which they are "burning with a just desire for gain", and they land and greet the country "alacri ... clamore" ("with cheerful shout", ll. 33–4). They are met by the "Indigenae Australas" (l. 35; "southern natives"). It becomes clear that these are not Spanish or Creole colonists, but Amerindian peoples; they are referred to later as "Indi" (l. 66; "Indians"). It is interesting that almost nothing is said about their physical appearance. They are not, for example, described by any sort of color adjective such as "fuscus" ("dark, tawny"), which was conventionally applied to the Indians of India by both classical and Neo-Latin writers. Tibullus refers to "comites fuscii, quos India torret" (ll. iii, 55; "dark companions whom India scorches"), while the Scottish Neo-Latin poet Sir William Scott of Thirlestane (c. 1674–1725) describes a parrot sent "fuscis ... ab Indis" ("from the dark Indians").²⁰ Nevertheless, Alleyn's "Indigenae Australas" are othered in various ways. They are armed with "jacula" (l. 39; "throwing spears"), whereas the British have "gladii" (l. 44; "swords"), presumably more civilized weapons. A few lines later, we might be surprised by the British having "vela ... horrida" (ll. 44–5; "fearful weapons"), since "velum" is originally a weapon which can be thrown, something more or less synonymous with "jaculum."²¹ Even in classical usage, however, "velum" could mean a weapon of any kind, and by the eighteenth century the word could be used to refer to firearms, which would seem to be the case here.²² The Indians "salant/horrendum" (ll. 38–9; "they dance in a frightful manner"). The adjectives "ferox" (l. 39; "wild, cruel") and "barbarus" (l. 46; "savage") are applied to their hearts. They have "monilia" (l. 75;

²⁰ Sir William Scott of Thirlestane, Bart., "Sitticus ad D. E. _____ B. _____ Dominam suam," in Robert Freebairn, ed., *Selecta Poemata Archidiaconi Pictavini Med. Doctoris, Gulielmi Scotti a Thirlestane Equitis, Thomae Kincaidii, Cois Edinburghensis, et Altorum* (Edinburgh: n.p., 1727), 126. For a translation and discussion of this poem, see John [?], Gilmore, "Parrots, Poets and Philosophers: Language and Empire in the Eighteenth Century," *EnterText* 2.2 (Summer 2003), 84–102, at <https://www.brunel.ac.uk/creative-writing/research/enter-text/documents/entertext022/John-Gilmore-Parrots-Poets-and-Philosophers-Language-and-Empire-in-the-Eighteenth-Century.pdf>.

²¹ The *Gradus ad Parnassum* indeed gives "velum" as the first of several possible synonyms for "jaculum".

²² Morell's edition of Ainsworth's *Dictionary* offers "Bombard", "scloppus", and "ormentum" as equivalents for "a gun", but not "velum"; "Out of gun shot" is given as "Extra telum", and "Within gun shot" as "Intra telum".

"necklaces") and "Daedaleas plumas" (l. 76; "Daedalian feathers"). Feathers were and are used in various forms of ornament by many Amerindian peoples, and this fact featured prominently in accounts by European writers from the earliest period of contact; see, for example, the references in Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688). While Europeans themselves sometimes used feathers for personal adornment, feathers could be treated as an all-purpose marker of the exotic: the African king in John Maynard's poem has both "Monilia" and "plumae";²³ in contrast, Alleyn describes the British as having "cristae" (l. 45), which recently terrified the French, while this ought to mean something like "crests", perhaps suggesting decorative items not that different from the Amerindians' "plumae", but the word seems to have been chosen in order to be different. Since neither feathered hats or helmets with horse-hair crests of the kind later associated with nineteenth-century cuirassier regiments were common in military uniforms of Alleyn's time, his "cristae" may refer to the tall peaks of the mitre-like (and featherless) caps of British grenadier regiments.²⁴

Alleyn describes the Amerindians as already aware of the fame of the British and as impressed by their "roseas ... genas" and "formosa ... / corpora" (ll. 41–2; "rosy cheeks" and "handsome bodies") as well as by their sophisticated weapons, and rush to greet them. In one particularly vivid detail, they kiss the swords of the British, which are "sanguine tinctis / Hispano" (ll. 43–4; "stained with Spanish blood"). The Spanish had been allies of the French during the recently ended wars. But this detail seems to refer to the so-called "Black Legend" popular among British writers, which laid great emphasis on real and alleged cruelties perpetrated by the Spanish against the indigenous peoples of the Americas during conquest and colonization, partly in order to make the not entirely plausible suggestion that British colonization was much more benevolent. Nevertheless, the British never lose sight of why they are visiting their new friends, and immediately want to know where the gold is to be found and go wandering about in search of it. It gleams and tinkles beneath their feet, but if the British "laetus miles" (l. 56; "happy soldier") or "novus advena" (l. 60; "newly arrived stranger") turns up the soil or searches through the alluvial sands, he does so purely in an exploratory manner, and is quite happy to look on as a "nudus fossor" (l. 62; "naked miner") does the actual work which makes the next scene possible.

The Amerindians now sing the praises of Queen Anne: Alleyn's "Quid foemina fecit / Barbara gens cant" (ll. 68–9; "A savage race sings what a woman

²³ Gilmore, "Sub herili", p. 230.

²⁴ See illustrations in Michael Barthorp and Angus McBride, *Marlborough's Army 1702–11* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1980).

has done") may have reminded some of Virgil's "dux femina facti" (*Aeneid*, I, 364; "a woman was leader of the deed"), referring to Dido's leadership of the Phoenician colony which established Carthage. Contemporary panegyric, in both English and Latin, routinely praised Queen Anne's rule as the source of Britain's success and prosperity and even suggested that British military successes were ultimately due to her, though what a modern historian has described as her "nearly perpetual pregnancy, frequent illness and deleterious corpulence" made her an unlikely candidate for the role of warrior queen.²⁵ Alleyn's reference to her (l. 68) as "Victrix ANNA," "Victorious Anna," or even "the conquering Anna," is thus nothing exceptional.

The Amerindians hasten to load the ships with a range of gifts for the British and their queen, not only necklaces and feathers, but also "vasi Pondens Aurum, / Argentumque ingens" (ll. 76–7; "gold of enormous weight, and much silver"). This perhaps looks back to the simile of the unskempt miser, which may suggest that wealth has no true value unless it is put to good use, instead of simply hoarded. We are shown the Amerindians apparently happy to pass on their treasures to the British, who, so it is implied, have a better claim to them, since they will know what to do with them. What might initially seem the slightly curious detail of "Commercia" (l. 70; "Trade"), choosing to join in the Amerindians' praise of Queen Anne foreshadows the conclusion in which we are treated to a vision of the world's wealth flowing into the Thames, and a claim for the significance of the poet's native Barbados in this ever-growing imperial prosperity. It is these final passages which allow us to interpret the poem as a whole.

First, the River Thames is told "totos pande sinus" (l. 78), in a phrase borrowed from Juvenal (l. 150), where it appears in the same position at the beginning of a line. In Juvenal, it refers to spreading one's sails, and is used in a metaphorical sense to urge the satirist to make every effort possible. While Alleyn's borrowing is a convenient way to fill up a hexameter line, he is making it work in other ways too. "Sinus" (here in the plural) can mean curves or hollows of any kind, so here it might suggest the sails of the ships which set out from the Thames on trading voyages, or be used mainly in a geographical

25 Elizabeth Lane Furdell, "The Medical Personnel at the Court of Queen Anne," *The Historian*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (May 1986), 412–429, at 429. For an example of this theme in Neo-Latin verse, see John [T.] Gilmore, "Schoolboy patriotism and gender stereotypes in the reign of Queen Anne," in David Money, ed., 1708: *Oudendale and Lille, A Tercentenary Commemoration in Prose and Verse* (Cambridge: Binnigfield's Head Press, 2008), 106–109. The tone of much English panegyric is summed up in Pope's couplet (*Windsor-Forest*, ll. 41–2): "Rich industry sits smiling on the Plains, / And Peace and Plenty tell, a STRAAR reigns" (Audra and Williams, ed. cit., 152).

sense, of the curves of the river, filled with ships as it flowed through London, past its many wharves.²⁶ Appropriately, in the context of Alleyn's poem, the Latin word could also refer to hollows or hiding places where money could be kept, such as pockets or purses (compare, e.g., Ovid, *Amores*, I, x, 18), for he goes on to tell the river to receive the wealth which will be brought to it from all corners of the globe. This is referred to as (ll. 79–81) "Primitiae" ("first fruits", suggesting that there will be a significant increase in such acquisitions as a result of the Peace – a suggestion strengthened by the "nunc", "now", in the following line), "munera" ("gifts"), and even "luxus", a rather loaded word meaning luxuries or things which would impress because of the money which would have been spent on them: a concept which for eighteenth-century readers, as well as for ancient Romans, often had negative connotations.²⁷ We are told (l. 80) that "Indus uterque" ("each of the Indies") would be zealous in competing to send gifts to the Thames. The "two Indies", or "both Indies", that is, the East and the West Indies, were common expressions in the eighteenth century, probably best known from the title of the Abbé Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes* (1780). Alleyn's "Indus uterque", however, was also part of the motto on the coat of arms of Jamaica used during the colonial period and dating from 1681: "Indus uterque serviet uni" ("Both the Indies will serve one [master]").²⁸ If the echo of the Jamaica motto is deliberate, this could be seen as giving added force to Alleyn's claim for the importance of his native Barbados in an expanding British Empire at the conclusion of his poem. Jamaica had been acquired as an English colony in 1655, a generation later than the settlement of Barbados in 1627, and was slower to develop as a sugar producer, but by 1713 Jamaica was rivaling Barbados in exports of sugar, the regions most valuable commodity,

26 See John Rocque's map of London, reproduced in Ralph Hyde, intro., *The A-Z of Georgian London* (London: Topographical Society, 1982), especially sheets 13–16, showing the stretch of the Thames from London Bridge to Limehouse. Although not published until 1747, Rocque's map was based on a survey begun in 1739 and shows a London which would have been very similar to that known to Alleyn.

27 Morell s.v., defines "luxus" as "Riot, excess, profuseness, extravagance", and only after that as "Also state, magnificence".

28 Officially granted by King Charles II, the coat of arms, including the motto, was said to have been designed by William Sanroft (1617–93), later Archbishop of Canterbury (1677–90); see Frank Cundall, *Historic Jamaica* (London: West India Committee, for the Institute of Jamaica, 1915), 182–3. The choice of wording in turn echoes a phrase in Horace (*Odes* II, II, 11–12).

and would soon be on its way to outpace all competitors as the dominant producer for the rest of the century.²⁹

Alleyn finishes by directly addressing his "chara mihi patria" (l. 94: "fatherland," or "native country, dear to me"). This can only refer specifically to Barbados, especially when it is described as "luxurians nativo nectare fellus" (l. 94: "a land abounding in its native nectar"). While "nectar" was the drink of the gods in classical mythology, and so might at first here suggest rum, it seems more likely that Alleyn is referring to the juice of the sugar-cane, which was the raw material processed to yield the all-important sugar as a commodity to be exported from Barbados to Britain (with rum being only a by-product).³⁰ The poet tells Barbados that it should join in the general rejoicing, and no longer complain about being at the geographical limit of Queen Anne's rule; since this now extends to the south, and, it is implied, far to the south, Barbados will now be in the middle of the globe and of the British Empire. The poem ends on the words "Imperique Britanni", suggesting that Alleyn sees no contradiction between his assertion of a Barbadian identity, and the significance of Barbados to Britain, and his enthusiastic loyalty to the British Empire as a whole. It is noteworthy, however, that his choice of vocabulary suggests something rather different from the well-known and much debated idea of Barbados as "Little England" (which only appears to have come into circulation in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century).³¹ Maynard's poem ends with an image of an "Anglicus Dominus", an "English master", in the Tropics, enjoying his lemonade in the shade.³² In Alleyn, by contrast, words specifically suggesting England or Englishness ("Anglia", ll. 5, 89; "Anglicum", l. 97) are significantly outnumbered by words referring to Britishness ("Britonas", l. 3; "Britannos", ll. 16, 37, 47; "Britones", ll. 33, 87; "Britannis", l. 66; "Britanni", l. 98). As can be seen from the case of Christopher Codrington, whose "Indian wit" (that is, West Indian) was attacked by a poetic rival and the fact that his education had been paid for by his father's "sugar" made the subject of criticism, the idea of the Caribbean-born white creole being different was already

29 See tables of production figures in Noel Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, 2 vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1949–50), I, 193–204. The enormous growth of the Cuban sugar industry was a nineteenth-century phenomenon (*Ibid.*, I, 131).

30 The *Gradus ad Parnassum* suggests among suitable adjectives for "nectar" both "dulce" and "suave", both conveying the idea of sweetness – not just in the sense of "pleasant", but specifically sweet as opposed to sour, as it treats "dulcis", "suavis" and "melleus" ("honeyed") as synonyms.

31 David Lambert, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity during the Age of Abolition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 13–15.

32 Gilmore, "Sub herili . . ." pp. 232–3, 235.

established before the end of the seventeenth century.³³ For at least some of his English contemporaries, Alleyn would have been different, a colonial, not English, but he can lay claim to a British identity, an idea given topicality by the still recent Act of Union between England and Scotland (1707).³⁴ In a similar manner, the later Scottish-Caribbean poet James Grainger uses frequent references to Britain rather than England as part of his attempts to emphasize the importance of the Caribbean colonies, and to stress that Britain is more than just England, and that the British Empire is more than just the British Isles.³⁵ For Alleyn, his chosen medium is a significant part of his message, as demonstrating his ability to compose Latin verse functions as a claim to membership of an elite literary culture which transcends national boundaries.

5 Alleyn, the Americas, and Modern Latin Literature

While the echoes of classical writers in Alleyn's poem are fairly obvious, it is not so easy to demonstrate the extent to which his poem may have been influenced by more modern writers in Latin. Recent scholarship has drawn attention to the way in which mining for gold and silver in the Americas features prominently in some eighteenth-century Latin verse, especially the lengthy poem *Brasilenses Aurifodinae* ("The Gold Mines of Brazil"), which has been attributed to both José Basilio da Gama and Francisco da Silveira, and in the *Rusticatio Mexicana* of Rafael Landívar. However, these belong to a rather later period than Alleyn's poem: the *Brasilenses Aurifodinae* appears to have been composed in the early 1760s and remains in manuscript, while Landívar published his in 1781, with an expanded edition the following year.³⁶ Nevertheless, some aspects of Alleyn's poem do appear to echo earlier Latin works, directly or indirectly. One of the most influential of these, in terms of creating a long-lasting image of the Americas as a potential source of vast wealth, was the

33 [Sir Richard Blackmore], *A Sager against Wit* (London: Samuel Crouch, 1700), II, and, by the same author, *Discommendatory verses, on those which are truly commendatory, on the author of the two Arthurs, and the Sager against Wit* (London: n.p., 1700), 1.

34 On ideas of Britishness in the period, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1807* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

35 Gilmore, *Poetics of Empire*, 33–35, and 80–81, n. 102.

36 Alexander de Brito Mariano, "New World Ethnoplans: Slavery and Mining in Early Modern Brazil through Latin Eyes", in Haskell and Ferris Ruyss ed., *Latinity and Alterity in the Early Modern Period*, 201–220; Desiree Arbo and Andrew Laird, "Columbus, the Lily of Quito, and the Black Legend", *Dieciocho* 38.1 (Spring 2015), 7–32, at 14, n. 21; Andrew Laird, *The Epic of America: An Introduction to Rafael Landívar and the Rusticatio Mexicana* (London: Duckworth, 2006).

Latin translation by Aliander de Cosco of Christopher Columbus's letter to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella describing what he had seen in the islands of the Caribbean, which was first published in Rome in 1493 and which was soon circulating throughout Europe in different editions and translations. The trope of the naive generosity of the indigenous people which we see in Alleyn is already there in Columbus, who tells, for example, of how "Accidit in quendam navitiam tantum auri pondus habuisse pro una ligula quanti sunt tres auri solidi" ("it befell one sailor that he had as much weight of gold in exchange for a single lace [i.e., a shoe-lace or lace for holding clothes together] as equalled three gold *solidi*"). Columbus claimed that he had put a stop to his men exploiting the natives by such unequal exchanges, but the greed of Europeans was already thoroughly aroused. Long before the Spanish encountered the very real mineral wealth of Mexico and Peru, and when only small amounts of gold had been acquired in the Caribbean islands, Columbus assured the Spanish monarchs that he would give them "tantum auri ... quantum eis fuerit opus" ("as much gold as they should have need of").³⁷

Some of this reappeared less than forty years later in what was to prove one of the most popular Neo-Latin poems, Girolamo Fracastoro's *Syphilis* (first published 1530). This gave its name to the disease which seemed to have appeared out of nowhere and swept through Europe with virulent force at the end of the fifteenth century, and was devoted to a description of its effects, speculation about its origins, and discussion of its treatment. The third and final book of the poem, however, is set in the "nemora alterius foelicia mundi" ("happy groves of another world", III, 1) where a "magnanimus ... heros" ("great-hearted hero", III, 104) who is never actually named as Columbus discovers Hispaniola as an "Auri terra ferax" ("land ... fertile in gold", III, 34). Fracastoro says this is not as important as the fact that the Caribbean also produces the guaiacum or lignum vitae tree, whose wood was widely used in his time, and for long afterwards, as a treatment for syphilis. Nevertheless, he mentions gold again, with an "aurifer amnis" ("gold-bearing river", III, 145), and "mixtam ... auro ... arenam" ("gold-mingled sand", III, 150). Soon afterwards, a passage about the natives marveling at the ships, clothing, and weapons of the Europeans is followed by another reference to alluvial gold, "e ripis collectum aurum" ("gold collected from the river banks", III, 209), which is presented to the visitors

37 Christopher Columbus, trs. Aliander de Cosco, *Epistola de insulis nuper inventis* (Rome: Stephan Plannck, 1493). I have used the facsimile published in Martin Davies, intro. and trs., *Columbus in Italy: An Italian verification of the Letter on the discovery of the New World*, [with facsimiles of the Italian and Latin editions of 1493] (London: British Library, 1991).

along with gifts of corn, fruit and honey. It is at least possible that Alleyn took some hints from these passages: the Latin text of Fracastoro's poem had been reprinted over two dozen times in different parts of Europe by the time Alleyn was an undergraduate, including an appearance in an anthology of Latin verse by Italian writers of the Renaissance published in England in 1684. There was also an English translation by Nahum Tate, which was first published separately in 1686, and then reprinted in several anthologies.³⁸

Another possible source which might have been known to Alleyn was *Aurum, Carmen* ("Gold, A Poem") by the French Jesuit, François Antoine Le Febvre, first published in Paris in 1703. Although this only mentioned America in passing as a place with mines of gold and silver, it went on – borrowing the Virgilian phrase "labor improbus" ("shameful" or even "degrading toil"; cf. *Georgics*, I, 145–6) – to describe the work of gold miners in some detail. Le Febvre did not share Alleyn's idea that the pursuit of wealth might be something praiseworthy, and adapted another well-known Virgilian phrase to refer to "dura famae auri" ("dreadful", or "fatal hunger for gold"; cf. *Aeneid*, III, 57), though he created a myth to suggest that the obsessive search for the precious metal was an inescapable part of human nature, since particles of gold had got mixed in with the clay which Prometheus had used to make the first people. While there is no very close verbal resemblance, Alleyn's passage (ll. 23–34) about the barrenness of the landscape, the "sterilis Tellus", where the gold is to be found does seem as though it might be an echo of a passage in which Le Febvre claims that gold mines are most likely to be found in terrain which is not suited to agriculture: "frugibus infelix tellus, nec commoda Baccho" ("A land hostile to crops and not suited to vines").³⁹

38 Quotations from Fracastoro (including the English translations) are taken from Geoffrey Eaturough, ed., *Fracastoro's Syphilis* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1984). See also Leona Baumgartner and John F. Fulton, *A Bibliography of the poem Syphilis sive Morbus Gallicus by Girolamo Fracastoro of Verona* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935); Anon., ed., *Anthologia, seu Selecta Quaedam Poemata Italorum Qui Latine scripserunt* (London: R. Green and F. Hicks, 1684); Nahum Tate, trs., *Syphilis: Or, A Poetical History of the French Disease* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1686). Another issue of the *Anthologia* gives Cambridge as the place of publication; the editorship is usually credited to Francis Akerbury, later Bishop of Rochester (e.g. by Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, 6), but Baumgartner and Fulton (47–8) attribute it to Thomas Power.

39 Le Febvre's poem is reprinted in François Oudin and Joseph Olivet, ed., *Poemata Didascalica* (2nd ed., 3 vols., Paris: Auguste Delain, 1813), I, 205–217. For a detailed analysis, see Yaemin Annabel Haskell, *Loyola's Bees: Ideology and Industry in Jesuit Latin Didactic Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 2003), 126–33.

6 Neo-Latin, the Vernacular, and Eighteenth-Century Colonialism

Latin verse composition was not a self-contained system, however. As Alleyn's poem as a whole shows, it interacted with contemporary events beyond the world of school and university, and it existed as part of a literary culture which also expressed itself in the vernacular, not as something separate from this. Alleyn's welcoming and generous Amerindians may have been influenced by reports of the "Four Indian Kings", Iroquois allies of the British in their wars with the French in North America, who were brought to the court of Queen Anne in 1710, or he may even have seen them himself.⁴⁰ However, while Alleyn writes as a product of a particular sort of classical education which involved a close acquaintance with at least the better known Roman poets and some of their Neo-Latin successors, he may also be responding to contemporary literary texts in English. The section of his poem about the Thames receiving the wealth of the different parts of the world resembles the conclusion to Pope's *Windsor-Forest*, where the Thames is personified as a river-god, who hails the increasing prosperity of a London which is given the classicizing poetical name of Augusta, suggesting its status as capital of a far-flung empire that rivals that of ancient Rome:

Behold! *Augusta's* glittering Spires increase,
And Temples rise, the Beauteous Works of Peace.
[...]
There Kings shall sue, and suppliant States be seen
Once more to bend before a *British* QUEEN.
[...]
The Time shall come, when free as Seas or Wind
Unbounded Thames shall flow for all Mankind,
Whole Nations enter with each swelling Tyde,
And Seas but join the Regions they divide;
Earth's distant Ends our Glory shall behold,
And the new World launch forth to seek the Old.
Then Ships of uncouth Form shall stem the Tyde,
And Feather'd People crowd my wealthy Side [...]⁴¹

⁴⁰ For an account of this episode and of contemporary literary responses to it, see Richmond P. Bond, *Queen Anne's American Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).

⁴¹ Pope, *Windsor-Forest* (ll. 377–8, 383–4, 397–404). Audra and Williams, ed. cit., 187–191, who suggest (188) that l. 383 may echo Isaiah, lx, 3.

Pope's poem was first published 7 March 1713, some four months before the Oxford celebration of the Peace, so that Alleyn would have had time to come across it while composing his own poem.⁴² Even closer parallels appear when we compare Alleyn's poem with Thomas Tickell's "On the Prospect of Peace", which had been published the previous year, and which, at least to begin with, seems to have enjoyed greater popularity than Pope's *Windsor-Forest*.⁴³ Tickell mentions "the painted kings of India", the "Fearless ... merchant" who "roams securely o'er the boundless main", including to where "nearer suns prepare the ripping gem, / To grace great ANNE'S imperial diadem", the use of precious metals for coinage, and "Harley's Chili [*sic*] gold".⁴⁴

Alleyn's suggestion that Barbados will be in the middle of the British Empire extends its boundaries to the furthest reaches of South America, and Tickell promises Queen Anne a similar expansion of her rule:

From Albion's cliffs thy wide extended hand
Shall o'er the main to far Peru command,
So vast a tract whose wide domain shall run,
Its circling skies shall see no setting sun.
Thee, thee an hundred languages shall claim,
And savage Indians swear by ANNA'S name;
The line and poles shall own thy rightful sway,
And thy commands the sever'd globe obey.⁴⁵

Britain will benefit at the expense of the French, who will be glad to cede Dunkirk as the price of Queen Anne's friendship, while "Holland repining and in grief cast down, / Sees the new glories of the British crown" and "OXFORD's ear" (i.e., Harley) sets out to dispossess the Spanish of their ill-gotten gains: "The wealthiest glebe to rav'nous Spaniards known / He marks, and makes the golden world our own".⁴⁶

There are two main points where Alleyn differs from Tickell. While Tickell portrays the "Fearless ... merchant" in a positive light, he endeavors to suggest that Britain's triumphal expansion is about much more than simple greed:

⁴² Audra and Williams, ed. cit., 146.

⁴³ Audra and Williams, ed. cit., 130, n. 7, state that "Six editions of Tickell's poem were issued within two years of publication; *Windsor-Forest* went into three editions in its first two years".

⁴⁴ Dodsley, *Collection*, ed. cit., I, n. 13.

⁴⁵ Dodsley, *Collection*, ed. cit., I, 16–17.

⁴⁶ Dodsley, *Collection*, ed. cit., I, 18–19.

Say, where have e'er her [Britannia's] union-crosses sail'd,
 But much her arms, her justice more prevail'd?
 Her labours are to plead th' Almighty's cause,
 Her pride to teach th' untam'd barbarian laws:
 Who conquers, wins by brutal strength the prize;
 But 'tis a godlike work to civilize.⁴⁷

There is nothing of this in Alleyn, whose British sailors and soldiers happily accept the gold and silver they are offered, and make off with them, without enlightening their Amerindian donors as to their potential uses. Secondly, while Alleyn mentions "Nummi futuri" (l. 65), coins to be made from the precious metals collected in South America, Tricell suggests that such coins and medals commemorating the achievements of Britain's military heroes will outlast the English language itself: "O'er distant times such records shall prevail. / When English numbers, antiquated, fail."⁴⁸ In a period which had trouble understanding Chaucer, the idea that, as Edmund Waller had put it a generation earlier in his "Of English Verse" (first published 1686), English was something impermanent, "a daily changing tongue", was still a commonplace. Latin, on the other hand, was far from being a dead language (as the declamation of the speeches and poems of Alleyn and his colleagues in Oxford's Sheldonian Theatre demonstrated), but it was what the modern scholar Jürgen Leonhardt has called a "fixed language". As such, it was the potential raw material for many a "monumentum aere perennius" ("monument more lasting than bronze"), in Horace's much quoted phrase (*Odes*, III, xxx, 1). Just as Virgil and Horace could be understood by the eighteenth-century educated reader, so the eighteenth-century writer of Latin verse expected to be intelligible to future generations. The commemorative coins to which Tricell referred would have had their inscriptions, like the "medals of immortal Rome", and like most coins and medals in eighteenth-century Europe, in Latin, not the vernacular. There appeared to be an irrefutable logic in Waller's claim that "Poets that lasting marble seek. / Must carve in Latin or in Greek."⁴⁹ While Alleyn does not address the issue directly, by writing Latin verse he is not only vindicating his claim to the status of an educated gentleman, but also making a bid for literary

47 Dodsley, *Collection*, ed. cit., I, II.

48 Dodsley, *Collection*, ed. cit., I, 12-13.

49 Edmund Waller, "Of English Verse", *The Works of Edmund Waller, Esq. in Verse and Prose* (London: J. and R. Tonson, 1758), 138-9; Richard Hillier, "Better Read than Dead: Waller's 'Of English Verse', *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660-1700*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring 1990), 33-43; Jürgen Leonhardt, *Latin: Story of a World Language*, trs. Kenneth Kronenberg (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 17-20.

immortality, staking a claim to remembrance which will be as long-lasting as the new world order which he asserts Britain will benefit from as a result of the Peace of Utrecht.

Not everyone was convinced: only a few years later, George Berkeley could envisage civilization passing from "Europe ... in her decay" to the Americas, and contemplate this as the end of history:

Westward the course of empire takes its way,
 The four first Acts already past,
 A fifth shall close the Drama with the day;
 Time's noblest offspring is the last.⁵⁰

Alleyn, on the other hand, envisages the increase in British power and prosperity brought about by the Peace to be permanent. Grandsons unborn are commanded to rejoice, since Harley, having secured the Peace, opens "Immortalem ... Thesaurum" (l. 84; an "immortal treasury") and spreads out for their benefit "Anstrum ... inexhaustum" (ll. 84-5; an "inexhaustible South"). The British will surpass all their rivals, and now – here Alleyn does use "Anglia" (l. 89; "England") – "Arms posit, meliore Metallo / Vulnicum mutat Chalybeum" (ll. 89-90), "having laid aside her arms, changes wounding steel for a better metal", that is, gold, asserting that trading dominance is as effective as warfare in increasing national influence. Military might is not to be abandoned, however, for Alleyn claims that the country "crescitque vicissim / Ferro Auroque potens" (ll. 90-91; "grows powerful by iron and by gold in turns"), and will thus be able to enjoy either "Perpetuam ... Pacem" or "aeternos ... Triumphos" (l. 92; "perpetual peace" or "eternal [military] triumphs").

7 Omission and Exaggeration

But there are limits to Alleyn's vision, or at least to his expression of it. The Peace of Utrecht was not a single treaty, but a group of treaties and agreements between various European powers. From the British point of view, one of the most important of these was what was referred to as the *Asiento*, an agreement with Spain which gave a British company the monopoly of supplying the

50 George Berkeley, "Verses, on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America", in

George Sampson, ed., *The Works of George Berkeley, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne*, 3 vols. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1897-8), II, 125-6. Berkeley's poem was first published in 1752, but probably written in the early 1720s.

Spanish colonies in the Americas with enslaved Africans for a period of thirty years, which was signed in Madrid on 26 March 1713.⁵¹ In terms of the human suffering involved, the agreement authorized the importation of 4,800 *Pezas de India* each year; each *Pieza de India* was an adult male enslaved African in good health, or what was considered to be the equivalent in enslaved persons of lesser value, such as women and children. The company was also to have the right to send one ship a year laden with British goods to sell in the Spanish colonies, thus opening up what had previously been a closed market. While this was considered potentially lucrative, it never brought the returns anticipated, and the company in question, the South Sea Company, had in fact been established in 1711 as part of a scheme for restructuring the British government's debts – it was this, rather than the company's trading activities, which was to lead in 1720 to the extraordinary speculation in its stock which at a much later date came to be known as the South Sea Bubble.⁵² Unlike Maynard, whose poem was titled "Assiento, sive Commmercium Hispanicum" ("The Assiento, or Spanish Trade"), and who at least acknowledged the fact of British involvement in the slave trade, even if he endeavored to suggest that it was actually for the good of the enslaved, Alleyn does not even mention the Assiento. The same, of course, is true of Pope's *Windsor-Forest*, where Father Thames's celebration of the cessation of hostilities includes the couplet "Oh stretch thy Reign, fair Peace! from Shore to Shore, / Till Conquest cease, and Slavery be no more" – a sentiment which did not stop Pope investing in the South Sea Company.⁵³

Some of what we may see as Alleyn's failings may be due to his following Tickell too closely as a model. Tickell wrote while the negotiations over the peace settlement were still going on, and a certain amount of speculation and wishful thinking on his part was perhaps to be expected. While Tickell appears to have hoped for Britain to make extensive territorial gains from her enemies, this was not fully realized, and some of his specific details were not borne out by reality. Tickell anticipated, for example "Dunkirk now restored / To Britain's empire", of which it had been a part for a brief period in Charles II's reign.⁵⁴ The port was retained by the French, however, even if the terms of the Peace

51 Text of the agreement, in Spanish with English translation, in *The Assiento, or, Contract for Allowing the Subjects of Great Britain the Liberty of Importing Negroes into the Spanish America* (London: John Baskett [et al.], 1713). In modern Spanish, the word is split *asiento*, but the form *assiento* is used in the printed text, and this was how it was generally referred to by British writers of the period.

52 Julian Hoppit, "The Myths of the South Sea Bubble," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, Vol. 12 (2002), 141–165.

53 Pope, *Windsor-Forest*, ll. 407–8; Andra and Williams, ed. cit., 192.

54 Dodsley, *Collection*, ed. cit., 1, 17.

obliged them to demolish its fortifications. While Tickell might be free to fantasize about "Harley's Chili gold", Alleyn was writing after the details had been settled, and he and his audience would almost certainly have been well aware that the Peace was not a licence for Britain to exploit the mineral wealth of South America. A degree of fantasy and exaggeration was characteristic of the state poem as a genre, in both Latin and English: in Addison's Latin poem on the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, for example, the meeting of William III and Peter the Great is compared to the meeting of Hercules and Evander in the *Aeneid*, while the same author's *The Campaign*, on the Battle of Blenheim, referred to the Duke of Marlborough as "the God-like Mar" and compared him to Achilles, Aeneas, and an avenging angel.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, Alleyn's poem is so hyperbolic, so deliberately removed from reality, that one is tempted to wonder if it is meant to sound a mock-heroic or satirical note. Even within its own fantastic world, there are details which raise awkward questions. Just who is the "nubus fossor", the "naked miner"? Gold and silver do not spring from the earth unhidden, and the later eighteenth-century poem *Brasilenses Aurifodinae* demonstrates that Neo-Latin verse could be used to give a realistic picture of the hardships involved in South American mining.⁵⁶ Alleyn's miner might be an enslaved African, or an Amerindian working under a system of coerced labor not very different from slavery, but it is uncertain whether we are meant to contemplate these possibilities, or simply ignore them. In his imitations of Tibullus, Alleyn's younger contemporary James Hammond (1710–42) saw the parallel between the "dusky Indians" of ancient Rome, and the "black Sons of Africa's sultry Land"; as did James Granger when he quoted this poem of Hammond's in his own collection of translations of Tibullus, a work which was in part designed to suggest that British colonial slavery was nothing like as harsh as Roman slavery had been.⁵⁷ Alleyn does nothing of the sort, and makes no overt mention of slavery at all. Even if we assume that he left Barbados when he was very young, in order to be sent to school in England, neither he nor his audience can have been ignorant of the fact that a significant part of Britain's commercial wealth depended on its ever-increasing participation in the transatlantic slave trade, and that

55 Joseph Addison, "Pax Guilelmi auspiciis Europae reddita, 1697", in his *Poems on Several Occasions, with a Dissertation upon the Roman Poets* (London: E. Curll, 1719), 121–132; *The Campaign: A Poem, To His Grace the Duke of Marlborough* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1705).

56 Alexandra de Brito Martiano, "New World 'Ethiopian': Laird, *Epic of America*.

57 James Granger, *A Poetical Translation of the Elegies of Tibullus: and of the Poems of Sappho*, 2 vols. (London: A. Millar, 1759), II, 108; John [T.] Gilmore, "Tibullus and the British Empire: Granger, Smollett and the politics of translation in the mid-18th century", *The Translator*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (April 1999), 1–26.

the production of sugar by enslaved Africans on plantations in the Caribbean was vastly more important than "Harley's Chili gold". The gaping absence of Caribbean slavery in his poem, and its replacement by the absurdities of his tableau of thankful Amerindian devotees of Queen Anne, seems designed to call attention to itself. If this is indeed the case, then Alley's bold concluding assertion of the literal and metaphorical centrality of Barbados to Queen Anne's growing empire seems to be a challenge from the colonial gentleman to his metropolitan peers: do not look down upon me because my rank and position are derived from the profits of slave-grown sugar; for you are very much part of the same system yourselves.

Commercium ad Mare Australe

John Alley

Text from *Academiae Oxoniensis Comititia Philologica In Theatro Sheldoniano Decimo Die Julii A. D. 1713. Celebrata: In Honorem Serenissimae Reginae Annae Pacificae* (Oxonii, E Typographo Clarendoniano, An. Dom. MDCCXIII [unpaginated]), collated with that in *Musarum Anglicanarum Antlecta: sive Poëmatum quorundam melioris notae, seu haecenus ineditorum, seu sparsim Editorum. Vol. III.* (Oxon. E Typographo Clarendoniano, Impensis Ant. Pelsley Bibliopol. MDCCXVII.), pp. 28–31.

The differences between the two editions are as follows:

- (1) in 1713, the name and description of the author and his poem appears at the beginning of the volume in the "Ordo Comitiorum Philogicorum", as VII. Joh. Alley, Reynoldi Alley de Barbadoes Arm. fil. è Coll. Magd. Sup. Ord. Commens. *Commercium ad Mare Australe*. Carn. Heroico.

In the 1717 collection, the author's name is given at the end of the poem as

Joh. Alley, Reynoldi Alley de Barbadoes
Arm. fil. Coll. Mag. Sup. Ord. Commens.

- (2) in line 35, 1713 prints "Indiginae" [sic] which 1717 corrects to "Indigenae".
 - (3) in line 49, 1717 prints "cubilia" with an upper-case "C".
 - (4) in line 81, 1717 prints a colon instead of a semicolon after "Muneribus certat".
 - (5) in line 93, 1713 prints a full stop at the end of the line, which 1717 corrects to a comma.
- The text below has been lightly modernized:
- (1) all ligatures, including the ampersand, have been expanded.
 - (2) the long "s" has been replaced with its usual modern form.
 - (3) spacing before punctuation marks has been reduced in accordance with modern practice.

Spelling, capitalization, and the use of italics remain as in the original. Line numbers have been added.

Dum victos Gallorum animos, finitque Belli
Tædia, et Europam composita Pace silentem
Laeta Theatra sonant: Britonas generosa reliquit

Ambitio, secura Quies oblita laborum
 Corda habet; et se iam faustam satis *Argylla* credit.
 Non sic *Harleio* visum. Vir providus audet
 Uterius prodesse; in publica Commoda magni
 Prodigus Ingeniū: Tacita *Ille* in mente repostas
 Res Patriae propere evolvens, perque omnia Acumen
 Indefessi Animi versans, nova Sceptra remotis
 Invenit in terris, aliumque ANNAE indicat Orbem.
 Defunctae bello Naves, ignobilis Orti
 Probra diu veritae, obscuram sine laude Senectam
 Ducere non ultra metuunt; sed munere digno
 Ornatae, modo quae pacarant, aequora visent,
 Exaucturae Opibus, quos defendere, *Britannos*.
 Jamque mari insultat Classis, fluctusque superbos
 Spe plena agglomerans, fragrantia pone relinquit
 Littora *Brasiliae*; vel divitis Ostia *Platae*
 Contendit petere; aut *Patagonas* visere gessit
 Prole Gigantea notos; vel praeteriti aestum
Lemarii, et flavae *Chiles* allabitur oris.
 Apparent procul, et nudata cacumina Montes
 Atollunt moesti: ac veluti praedives Avarus
 Inculca squallet facie, miserabile corpus
 Horrida deformat Macies, et turpis Egestas
 Mendaci ore sedet; Tali Regio ista videtur
 Aspectu: non laeta Seges, non Herba vitescens
 Triste solum vestit; non ridet fertilis Arbos,
 Non ipsum infelix Lolium; nuda omnia circum,
 Et tota est sterilis Tellus. Tamen intus abundat
 Vis larga Argenti, et nudis Auri pondera crescunt.
 Huc subeunt *Britones*, justaque cupidine luci
 Ardentes, alacri terras clamore salutant.
 Indigenae *Australes* celsas accedere Puppes
 Littore prospiciunt, et vim prohibere parati
 Armis cuncta tenent: at cum venisse *Britannos*
 Fama refert, tanto percussī nomine, saltant
 Horrendum; et positis jaculis, et corde feroci,
 Certatim coeunt, oculisque et mentibus haerent
 Affixis; Roseasque genas, formosaque lustrant
 Corpora, mirantes tanta dulcedine mistrum

Terrorem, Bellique decus. Nunc sanguine tinctis
Hispano gladiis dant Oscula; telaque palpant
 Horrida; quasque modo trepidavit *Galla* Cristas,
 Attractant blandi; per barbata pectora surgit
 Laetitia; usque adeo juvat aspectasse *Britannos*.
 Ast illi interea, quas sedes incolit Aurum,
 Quam secreta sibi posuere cubilia Gazae,
 Quaerere festinant prompti; delectat euntes
 Sub pedibus crepitans Tellus, et timula Gleba
 Vicinas enarrat Opes, Stellata metallo
 Saxa micant, tremuloque ardescit pulvere Campus.
 Labitur exiguus juxta per devia rura
 Rivulus, et ripas, quas flumine lambit, inaurat;
 Laetus adit miles, proprio languidus aestu,
 Dumque sitim sedat, vaga Iympha sub ore bibentis
 Flavescit, ludique Aurum subtile per undas.
 Talibus exercet sese novus Advēna curis,
 Et rufam vel versat humum, aut rimatur arenas,
 Aut subit effractus montes, curvasque fodinas;
 Aut nudum spectat fossorem viscera terrae
 Diripere, et venas investigare sequaces;
 Aut, alio versus, liquidum fluitare metallum,
 Fornacesque stupet Nummis ferrere futuris.
 Interea expediunt *Indi* pretiosa *Britannis*
 Munera, Amicitiae pignus. Donumque paratur
 Magnificum Victricī ANNAE: Quid Foemina fecit
 Barbara Gens cantī, atque incultis laudibus ANNAM,
 Delicias *Boreae*, celebrans, Commercia jungi
 Optat, et inde novos sibi surgere spondet Honores.
 Jamque omnes reserantur Opes, magnisque superbi
 Hospitibus populi, latebris expromere gaudent
 Divitias, veteresque ulro tellure recludunt
 Thesauros: et jam detracta monilia collo,
 Daedaleas Plumas, et vasti Ponderis Aurum,
 Argentumque ingens cumulant stipartique carinis.
 Totos pande sinus *Thamesis*, laeto excipie fluctu
 Quas tibi Primitias *Notus* affert, Orbis *Exi*
 Invidiam. Pro te nunc aemulus *Indus* uterque
 Muneribus certat; tua, luxus quicquid ubique est,

Unda vehit; *Thamesique* superbum cedere *Gangem*
 Moesta *Aurora* dolet. Seri gaudete Nepotes;
 Immortalem aperit *Thesaurum Harleius*; et Austrum
 Pandit in exhaustum. Vos vela tumenia, *Belgae*,
 85
 Contrahite: et tanto ne fastu, *Hispania*, jactes
 Recta superba *Limae*. *Britiones* miracula *Chiles*
 Narrabant propriae, et spernent juga falva *Porosi*.
Argla nunc, Armis positis, meliore *Metallo*
 Vulnificum mutat *Chalybem*, crescitque vicissim
 Ferro *Auroque* potens: duplici hoc *Munimine* tuta
 Perpetuam aut celebret *Pacem*, aeternosve *Triumphos*.
 Tu quoque luxurians nativo *Nectare* *Tellus*,
 Chara mihi *Patria*, exultes; Tu debita *jungas*
 Gaudia; Te posthac supremo in limite *Regni*
 Non distare querat: non terminus *Ultimus ANNAE*
 95
Sceptri eris: Angliacum nunc ipsum respicis *Austrum*,
 Teque *Orbis* mediam video, Imperitique *Britanni*.

The South Sea Trade

John Allyn, trans. John T. Gilmore

(ll. 1-5)

While with the Peace agreed the glad theatres tell of the conquered souls of the Gauls, and the end of war's horrors and the calm of Europe, great-souled ambition departs from Britain, safe repose takes possession of hearts forgetful of their labors, and England now believes herself fortunate enough.

(ll. 6-11)

Not so it seemed to Harley: The far-seeing man dares to be of further use, prodigal of genius in the public good: he in his silent mind speedily considering far-off things for his country's good and reflecting upon all things with the cunning of his unwearied soul, he finds new sceptres in far off lands, and shows another world to Anna.

(ll. 12-22)

Ships which have done with war, long fearful of the shame of ignoble ease, no longer dread inglorious old age, but adorned with a worthy duty they will

behold the seas which they have now tamed, to increase exceedingly in wealth the Britons they have defended. And now the fleet leaps upon the sea, and joining the proud billows with a full hope, after it leaves the fragrant shores of Brazil either struggles to seek the harbor of the rich Plate, or strives to behold the Patagonians famous for their gigantic race, or passes Lemaire's strait, and glides towards the coast of golden Chile.

(ll. 23-34)

Far off appearing, sad mountains raise their barren tops: like some most wealthy miser who is filthy and unkempt, a horrid leanness deforms his wretched body and shameful want sits on his lying face; just so that region seems: no glad harvest, no flourishing plants clothe the sad soil, no fertile tree smiles, not even wretched weeds: all around is bare and the whole earth is barren. Within, however, abounds a mighty store of silver, and pounds of raw gold grow. Here come the Britons burning with a just desire of gain and hail the land with cheerful shout.

(ll. 35-47)

The southern natives gaze out from the shore as the tall ships sail in, and stand firm, ready to meet force with force, but when it is reported that the Britons are coming, struck by so great a name, they dance in a frightful manner, and, putting aside their spears and their cruel natures, they eagerly approach, crowd round and stare and examine their rosy cheeks and handsome bodies, wondering at the frightfulness and distinction of warfare mingled with so much beauty. Now they kiss the swords stained with Spanish blood and caress their frightful weapons. The crests which lately caused Gaul to tremble they fondle with delight, joy swells within their savage breasts, so much it gladdens them to look upon the Britons.

(ll. 48-58)

But they, meanwhile, eagerly hasten to enquire where Gold is to be found, where he has placed the secret chambers of his treasury. As they walk, the cracking earth beneath their feet delights them, and the tinkling soil declares wealth to be nearby. The sparkling rocks flash with metal, and the fields burn with quivering dust. A little rivulet glides through the wandering countryside and gilds the banks washed by its flow. The happy soldier comes, wearied by a closer heart: while he quenches his thirst, the flowing water glitters beneath his face as he drinks, and gold-dust plays beneath the ripples.

(ll. 59–65)

With such concerns the new-come stranger busies himself, turns up the red earth, or searches through the sands, or climbs the broken mountains with their hollow pits, or watches the naked miner tear up the bowels of the earth and search his wandering veins, or looking elsewhere, wonders at the flow of liquid metal, and furnaces which blaze with future coin.

(ll. 66–77)

Meanwhile the Indians bring to the Britons precious gifts, a pledge of friendship, and a magnificent present is prepared for conquering Anna. A savage race sings what a woman has done, and with their untutored praises celebrating Anna, darling of the North, Commerce chooses to be joined, promising herself new honors to arise from thence.

And now all their wealth is revealed to the mighty guests of a proud people, they rejoice to bring forth riches from their hiding-places and show ancient treasures to another world: and now necklaces taken from round their throats, Daedalean plumes, and gold of enormous weight, and much silver, they heap up and with them load the ships.

(ll. 78–92)

Spread wide your reaches, O Thames, receive the first-fruits the South Wind brings you on the joyful tide, the envy of the Eastern world. Zealous now for you both Indies contend in gifts; thine, whatever luxury, wherever it is, the sea brings; and the sad Dawn mourns that the proud Ganges yields to Thames. Rejoice, ye late-born grandsons: Harley opens an immortal treasury and spreads out an inexhaustible South. Furl your swelling sails, ye Dutch; and do not vaunt with such vainglory, Spain, the proud roofs of Lima. Britons shall tell the wonders of their own Chile and scorn the golden heights of Potosi. England now, having laid aside her arms, changes wounding steel for a better metal, and grows powerful by iron and by gold in turns: safe in this double rampart she shall celebrate perpetual peace, or everlasting triumphs.

(ll. 93–98)

Thou also, O land abounding in thy native nectar, Fatherland dear to me, rejoice; join in with gladness due; no more shall I complain you lie in the farthest reaches of the Kingdom, no more will you be the last point of Anna's rule: now you look upon a South which is itself English – I see you the middle of the world and of the British empire.

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CHAPTER 6

Lucianic Dialogues in Colonial Santo Domingo: The Historical Miscellany of Luis Joseph Peguero

Dan-el Padilla Peralta

Some time in the early 1760s, as the Seven Years' War raged across multiple continents, Luis Joseph Peguero (d. 1792) began compiling a history of the Caribbean island of Hispaniola from 1492 to his times. A landholder in the valley of Bani on the Spanish-controlled side of the island, Peguero made regular trips to the city of Santo Domingo in order to consult the literary resources – early modern chronicles, narrative and natural histories, dramatic and epic poetry, high-hearted fictional dialogues – that nourished his fledgling text. Completed in long-hand draft by 1763, Peguero's two-volume *History of the Conquest of the Spanish Island of Santo Domingo, Compiled in 1762 (Historia de la Conquistada de la Isla Española de Santo Domingo, Trasmuntada El Año de 1762; hereafter *Historia*)* has some charm and many oddities. Shutting between paragraph and word-by-word transcription of his authorities, Peguero's text offers unique insight into the colonial and racial imaginaries that emerged in tandem with Hispaniola's fluctuating fortunes on the Caribbean and world stage. It is a precious and rare testimony to the frictions of life on Hispaniola at a time when the island's Francophone and Hispanophone halves were evolving in different yet complementary directions, with a plantation-centred cash crop economy on the western end and a ranching and animal-husbandry economy on the eastern. By the time Peguero appeared on the scene, both economies were profoundly dependent on the exploitation and brutalization of African and Afro-descendant slave labor.

About Peguero's precise location in and commercial commitments to these networks of profit and slavery, very little is known.¹ That he was an *hacero*

1 Antonio Sánchez Malverde, one of Peguero's *hacero* contemporaries, explicitly called for an increased reliance on slavery in Spanish Santo Domingo: Fernando A. Pérez Memín, "El indio y el negro en la visión de la Iglesia y el Estado en Santo Domingo (siglos XVI–XVIII)," *Revista de Historia de América* 143 (julio–diciembre 2017): 112–14; further on the economic and political background to this proposal, n. 56 below. The *hacero*'s power over his workforce was functionally equivalent to that of a slaveholder; for the noun's semantics see José Ulises Rutilan Domínguez and Manuel Darío de León, *Diccionario histórico dominicano* (Santo Domingo: Editora Universitaria, 1986), 142. Bani's place in the wax, wane, and resurgence of the sugar-plantation economy: Reynaldo González, "Tierras, campesinos y plantación.